

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 637

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THREE PENCE

GRUESSE AN UNSERE DEUTSCH SPRECHENDEN LESER!

PEACE News erscheint in England, doch sie wird in allen Ländern der Welt gelesen. Wir hoffen, dass wir noch mehr ausländische Freunde in verschiedenen Ländern gewinnen werden, da es uns klar ist, dass die Ideale, für die Peace News eintritt, nur dann verwirklicht werden können, falls die Einigkeit des Menschentums über die Uneinigkeit der Nationalstaaten siegen wird.

Wir wirken für die Errichtung einer Welt, in der Kriege unmöglich sind und wo alle Völker eine neue Gemeinschaft bilden werden. Wir hoffen, dass Sie sich für den Inhalt der Peace News interessieren und wir übersenden Ihnen unsere brüderlichen Grüsse, im Namen der Mitarbeiter dieser Zeitung und auch der Bewegung, der Peace News dient.

OUTLOOK UNSETTLED

THE newspapers would have us believe that something epoch-making happens every day; fortunately things are not quite as bad as that. Returning to the fortnightly Commentary, after an interval of nearly two months, I am surprised to find how little the European situation has changed. Even the blockade of Berlin has not been lifted over the week-end, as some columnists confidently predicted.

There is, indeed, no particular reason why the Russians should hustle these negotiations. With every autumnal week, their bargaining position improves; and if a compromise is reached before November fogs and December snows make the air lift a hazardous operation, the Western powers should consider themselves lucky. It is to be hoped that their

COMMENTARY by BRUCE ODSBUR

unpleasant experience will have taught them a useful lesson—not to start barking at the bear until their heads are clear of its forelegs; and that if they do get away with it this time, they may be encouraged to seek a more permanent and satisfactory settlement of the whole German problem—if only in order to be able to bark with impunity in future.

Meanwhile, they may at least be congratulated on not allowing the negotiations to arrest their plans for a West German State: for, whatever compromise is reached, it will be represented in the East as a surrender; and it is more than ever necessary that they should demonstrate their determination to ensure the economic revival of Trizonia, and to treat the Germans as equal partners in a West European community.

Policy of despoliation

TO achieve either aim, however, it is absolutely essential that the policy of despoliation, to which the Editor made reference last week, should be discontinued forthwith. There is some reason to think that the Americans would like to end dismantling; the opposition comes from Britain and France. Yet Britain and France have more than America to lose from this short-sighted and senseless destruction of industries.

It was the Committee of European Economic Co-operation which stated categorically in its report a year ago: Other Western European countries cannot be prosperous as long as the economy of the Western Zone is paralysed, and a substantial increase of output there will be required if Europe is to become independent of outside support.

The fears of France can no longer

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

We, the Survivors, Renounce War

—MAYOR OF HIROSHIMA

FIFTEEN thousand people, gathered around the Hiroshima Memorial Tower of Peace on the third anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb, heard their Mayor, Shinzo Hamai deliver an urgent call to the peoples of all countries to work for disarmament and the abolition of war.

Shinzo Hamai, who is also President of the Hiroshima Peace Society, has had translations of his address which we print below, sent to the Mayors of 151 cities throughout the world.

This appeal has a grim significance for Londoners, since their city was "destroyed by atom bombs" according to one newspaper report of last week-end's mock air-battles.

"THREE years ago today—this very morning, the inhabitants of Hiroshima and its neighbourhood had a most terrible experience. In the twinkling of an eye, this historic town of nearly four hundred thousand souls was blasted and shattered to pieces. The terrible atom bomb had done its work!

"There was nothing left but ruin and disaster all around the city. No one can give a full account of the awful sufferings and grievous miseries this single bomb brought to the living as well as to dying. The fear and trembling we experienced are, indeed, quite beyond description.

WE, THE SURVIVORS . . .

"Today, however, suppressing deep sighs and mournful sobs, we, the survivors, have come together to meet on this spot to have a commemoration service of this memorable event in order to renew our solemn vows to contribute our bit to the peace of the world. We are already determined to do our best for this purpose by faithfully discharging our own duties at our posts, wherever we may be. We are convinced that such is the most appropriate way of consoling the dead and their bereaved families.

With regard to war, we must say that a war of any kind is, at its best, inhuman and destructive by nature, only disgracing humanity with the ostentatious name of patriotism. Needless to say, nothing so wastes human lives and precious materials as war, while it destroys the moral life of the people whether they are belligerent or not. And very often one war begets another which is still more dangerous and far more destructive.

"Such being the case, we solemnly declare here that the peace of the world will never come out of the bellicose spirit of people, and that the development of armaments, however perfect, will never bring the peace of the world. Anything worthy of the peace of the world will come only out of the national awakening against retaliation principles on one hand, and the nation-wide movement of laying down arms

at any cost, on the other. It is, therefore, our bounden duty to do our very best to permeate these fundamental thoughts and principles of peace throughout the world.

"The New Japan, to which we now belong, declares the renunciation of war in its Constitution in these words: 'Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.' And 'We, the Japanese people, pledge our national honour to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources.'

"There may be some, however, who en-



SHINZO HAMAI



(Photo: Freden).

SIX NATIONALITIES MEET AT HASSELBY

A description of the International Work Camp at Hasselby, Sweden, appears on page three.

WROCLAW

by

Olaf Stapledon

— page two —

certain apprehensions concerning the possible existence of a country without a single soldier or a single air-plane or man-of-war to defend itself. To those who quote that 'the weak go to the wall,' or 'the strong will prey on the weak,' we reply that this is not the destined end of History. History, as we understand it, is nothing but the manifestation of the Divine Will. Contrary to popular views, it teaches us very solemn lessons regarding both the development of Humanity and the progress of Freedom. It also teaches us that against God's Will no country or principality can exist. And to our great sorrow, we have learned the lesson too well this time by our complete defeat in the War.

"Unlike Mercy which is said to bless 'him that gave and him that received,' the unmercifulness of war consists in the fact that suffering and misery are brought not only to the belligerent but to all mankind. Even the victorious suffer almost as much as the vanquished. Learning these serious lessons from History, we have now come to aspire to international peace and to declare at home and abroad that we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of peace-loving peoples of the world. May God Almighty forbid that any country should wage war for war's sake on such a peace-loving nation! God in History will not suffer such an outrageous act to be done with impunity!

"Various wonderful inventions and improvements recently made on the weapons of war—such as poison-gasses or atomic bombs—clearly show that all humanity might possibly be exterminated, suppose the belligerents should make free use of these deadly weapons. On the other hand, we are sure that if the same effort as is made in the line of war-like preparations were applied to the promotion and preservation of peace, the realization of the dream of world-wide peace would not be impossible at all.

DID NOT DIE IN VAIN

"Such being the case, it is not wrong to say that the essentially good elements of the Atomic Age could be harnessed to the benefit of man-kind in working for lasting peace. And if so, it is not too much for us to say that those lives which were sacrificed on Aug. 6, 1945, may not have been in vain. On these, and other grounds we, the people of Hiroshima are determined to observe most faithfully the provisions made in the New Constitution regarding international peace by keeping our hand absolutely off any kind of armaments. Thus in one and the same voice we declare to the world:

"We will firmly believe in the Divine Will manifested in History and will trust in the justice and faith of the peace-loving people of the world.

"We will establish the noble ideals of true Peace on the Earth on one hand, and we will do our best to root out all sources of war and rumours thereof, renouncing war itself and all the terrors and evils thereof, on the other.

"Hereby, with awe and reverence, we read this Declaration of Peace at the foot of the Memorial Tower of Peace at Hiroshima, on Aug. 6, 1948, the Third Anniversary of the First Advent of the Atomic Bomb."

PEACE NEWS

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CATHOLIC OPTIMISM

THE pastime of erecting a little pile of pebbles and seeing how few shots are needed to knock it down is a pleasant one for a Bank Holiday on the beach; but we cannot help regretting that the editor of The Catholic Herald should continue it after his return to work. In the issue of August 6, he purported to answer the case for Christian pacifism which we had advanced in this column the week before; instead, he proceeded to demolish one postulated by nobody except himself.

"The real problem which pacifists never face," he declared, was "how to avoid a war with a good conscience when you are faced by a strongly-armed robber power with aggressive aims against not only the body of its neighbours but their very spirit—a Power which utterly refuses to accept the validity of any non-utilitarian morality and openly uses its opponents' moral ideas as weapons to be cynically exploited."

Our solution to this problem, which we have been facing ever since Hitler came to power, was that Christians should adopt that same course of resolute non-compliance with the immoral demands of an oppressor as the Catholic Herald admires in the clergy of Eastern Europe. With their example before it, it seems a little disingenuous, at least, to impute to those who counsel such a course, disbelief in the reality of evil!

It is, on the contrary, precisely because we are alive to the magnitude of the evil that we insist more than ever upon this course. The greater the evil, the greater the good required to overcome it. As we have written, "Against a Saladin, the courage of a Cœur de Lion may suffice; a Nero calls for martyrs like St. Peter and St. Paul."

In the last resort, the Catholic Herald is prepared to admit, the Christian citizen may have "no option but to pray and work for his enemy while suffering at his hands"; that is, if it can be established "first, that atomic and bacterial weapons, for example, indiscriminately used, are wrong in themselves, and second, that another war will be decided by their use." But, it contends, "the second part of this hypothesis would be very difficult to establish... In such case we are surely entitled to take the benefit of the doubt."

We do not believe that there is much doubt; it does not seem to us at all difficult to establish at any rate the overwhelming likelihood of another war being decided by the indiscriminate use of atomic and bacterial weapons. As Dr. J. H. Oldham writes in the Christian News-Letter, "In modern warfare indiscriminate massacre and unsparing devastation have become the nature of war itself." That, in fact—and not "the claim of those pacifists who urge that non-resistance is always a Christian duty in itself since the Christian is called upon to fight with the sword of the spirit only"—was the reason we gave for recommending our alternative.

Still, we must admit that there is a doubt. It is, just, within the realm of possibilities that World War III would not be a "modern" war; that it would be fought in a manner altogether different from, and far more gentlemanly than, World Wars I and II. The Catholic Herald is entitled to its optimism. All we legitimately ask is, that in the event of our own fears being justified, the editor and his co-believers will promptly withdraw their sanction and support. Can he assure us that they will?

WROCLAW

The Wroclaw Cultural Congress for Peace was both a success and a failure. In retrospect the success seems to me more important than the failure.

By Olaf Stapledon

FOR the first time since the war, Russian intellectuals and Western intellectuals actually met to work out a common policy for peace.

Still more striking was the fact that, though the great majority of the members of the Congress were Communists or near-Communists, and though at first there seemed no hope at all of agreement between the East and the West, in the end both sides were willing to compromise. Both sides, that is, were in agreement about the indictment of capitalistic imperialism as the main source of danger, though many from the West felt that this indictment was far from representing the whole truth.

Those of us who went in expectation of constructive discussion of methods for breaking down misunderstandings and cultural barriers, and for ensuring cultural co-operation and a real synthesis of Western and Eastern ideas, were disappointed and outraged by the spate of mere invective. The speech of Fadeyev, who opened the Russian case, was harsh and uncompromising. For him, there was no question of working out a means to enable the two great antagonists to live and let live. All that mattered was to damn America and glorify Russia. At a later stage, Ehrenburg put forward a rather more temperate view, making it clear at least that the villain was not the American people but big business. But the great majority of the speeches consisted of the straight Communist propaganda with which we are all quite familiar in the Daily Worker. Appeals from Julian Huxley from the chair and from British and American speakers to seek some basis for discussion were completely ignored.

Indignation

Perhaps the most effective contributions were made by representatives of the "coloured" and other

oppressed peoples. Algeria, Viet Nam, Madagascar, West Indies, West Africa, Indonesia, India and the Left in Spain and Greece, and also the Negroes of the USA, were all vocal. This massed indignation on the part of so many peoples gave one a vivid sense of the rebellion which is boiling up all over the world.

All this was justified, but did not help toward constructive discussion. Half-way through the four days of the Congress many of the British and Americans were in despair of any useful results. Professor A. J. P. Taylor made a dramatic protest against the flood of propaganda, and appealed for clear thinking and for individual freedom. There was no response. But meanwhile personal contacts were forming between members of the different nations. Over meals and in hotel lounges some of us began to find that the Russians, in spite of their violence and intransigence, were earnestly and even anxiously concerned to prevent war; and that they were ready to compromise to some extent in order to secure some sort of common declaration from the Congress.

Compromise

A drafting committee made up of representatives of the five main "delegations," was entrusted with the task of formulating a resolution. An original draft submitted by the Poles consisted of an emphatic condemnation of American imperialism, and called upon intellectuals in all countries to rouse public opinion against the "war-mongers." This attempt to put all the blame on one side seemed mistaken to many British and Americans, who agreed with the main contention. Julian Huxley submitted another resolution, purely in defence of individual and cultural liberty, and free interchange of books and scientific ideas. The upshot was a compromise. After an immense amount of word-by-word discussion,

Village Pale-faces

BROADLY speaking I agree with Wellock (PN, Aug. 20). His arguments are so rational. Are they not therefore a little naive? For evidence accumulates that much (maybe the greater part) of most men's behaviour derives from the irrational part of their natures. This does not not lead me to despair, but rather to emphasise the need today for less theorising on the nature of the ideal society, and more precise examination of the "what" and "why" of human behaviour in the infinite variety of actual circumstance and environment.

In our village there are a surprising number of men with pale faces. They travel daily by special bus to do repetitive work in a local factory. Some of them were farm-workers before their army service. Jobs are available on the farms around the village. Why do these men choose (and therefore display an important character of the human personality) to do work which by Wellock's thesis of "human and spiritual values" is essentially depersonalising?

"Why the factory rather than the farm?" I have asked some of these men. Invariably their answer has been short and simple: "Money." Any hasty judgment must be qualified by my next observation. As a general rule the living standards in the factory workers' homes are higher than the still-too-low standards (cleanliness apart) within the farm-workers' families.

My further point is confusing if we unreservedly accept Wellock's analysis. Socially the factory worker seems rather brighter than the farm-worker, suggesting a livelier personality. This leads me to a somewhat tentative conclusion: should the farm-wages rise to those of the factory workers, my factory friends would not leave their jobs for farm-work. In spite of their

repetitive "despiritualising" work, their close contact with work-mates affords their gregarious instincts satisfaction which they would not so easily find in the fields. Also factory welfare schemes, sport and recreation are accessible for them, which the rural workers sadly lack.

I believe as N. R. Murry has suggested (PN, Aug. 27), that most of our workers have little time or understanding of the "spiritual

LETTERS

values" of "Bourgeoisie respectability" or of the middle class intelligentsia. Even so my factory friends would probably understand and agree to the proposition that the "general good" would be enhanced if they left their jobs to work on the land. Their refusal to take this radical action confirms my views on man's deep-seated irrationality or separateness, which may aid the final destruction of us all.

Evidently Wellock also perceives this danger. And, rather than throw cold water on his considerable contribution to social theory, my purpose here is to shift the emphasis on to the careful consideration of the technical means, other than compulsion) to deal with the sort of problem of human behaviour which I have attempted to expose.

S. J. HAYWARD.

Bleak Cottage,
Leighton,
Tetbury, Glos.

Relief still needed

REFERRING to my note on conditions in Germany following the currency reform (PN, Aug. 20), I aimed to give a balanced survey resulting from many communications coming from Germany and from discussions with German people visiting

NOW OR NEVER

PACIFISM is no longer something to be dismissed as sentimentality or utopianism. The World Council of Churches at Amsterdam has been confronted fairly and squarely with the issue by a letter signed by seventy-eight leading pacifist Churchmen from fifteen countries, including Henri Roser, André Trocmé, F. Stegmund Schultz, Toyohiko Kagawa, George Macleod and J. Usang Ly.

The public is also being confronted with the issue more and more insistently at public meetings, like the one in Trafalgar Square last week-end, attended by several thousand and addressed by Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale and others.

It is more than ever necessary that a pacifist paper should be able to keep this new interest alive by presenting views and news of pacifists week by week. Will you help PN to reach the wider public that is waiting for it, by contributing all you can spare to the Fund? It is now or never.

THE EDITOR.
Contributions since Aug. 27: £3 3s. 6d.
Total for 1948: £664 5s. 0d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund" to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

the Committee agreed on a resolution. I must emphasise that both the Russian and the French members of the Committee showed (on the last day, on which I was present) a real will to compromise on points upon which the British and Americans foresaw trouble.

Much of the difficulty was due to the attempt to incorporate the Huxley resolution (which the Russians disliked) in the Polish resolution. This was in the end achieved, and invoked serious concessions by the Russians. We found, by the way, that much of the difficulty was due to the divergent interpretations given by Russia and the West to familiar words and phrases, such as "progressive" and "democratic."

The resolution was accepted by a huge majority of the Congress. Russian and French delegates were unanimous. The American British delegations were far from unanimous, but in each case a large majority accepted.

Understanding

It should be added that the Poles were extremely friendly and helpful throughout the Congress, and that they showed a real will for understanding. Their hospitality was magnificent. And they seem to be going about the huge work of reconstructing their ruined cities with an energy and enthusiasm that suggests immense vitality and confidence.

this country, as my first few lines (omitted by PN) were intended to explain—a balance in danger of being upset, at least for casual readers, by your somewhat sensational headline "Intellectuals near Starvation."

I write again, however, primarily because a report from British sources in Germany has just reached me, which suggests that in view of improved conditions resulting from the introduction of the Deutsche Mark it is no longer necessary to send food parcels to German friends in general, and that we should now concentrate on helping those in the categories specially hit by the currency changes.

It may be worth while to draw attention to the suggestion made in this report, though a German friend on a visit to my home said at once that its tone was much too optimistic.

We should bear in mind that the official German ration, even if the recently announced increase to 1,850 calories per head per day is maintained and honoured, represents a level of nourishment still below the standard of 2,000 calories set by dieticians as the minimum required for maintenance of normal health and strength. Taking our own diet at an average of 2,750 calories, the newly increased German ration gives only 67 per cent. of the amount considered necessary for English people, who nevertheless often enough complain. It is also probable that the food in Germany, even if maintained in quantity, is less varied and of poorer quality than ours.

Any suggestion therefore that the German people in general are now, with improving conditions, beyond the need of further help, is to be deprecated.

CORDER CATCHPOOL.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

Swedish Snapshots I.

WORK CAMP TRIALS

This is the first of three articles by the Editor of Peace News who has recently returned from Sweden.

QUEEN CHRISTINA certainly knew where to put a summer-house. On a rocky knoll, looking out south and west over the still waters of Lake Maleren and backed by woods of pine and silver birch, that humane and brilliant lady—who helped to end the Thirty Years War, and might have given Sweden the name of a peace-loving power had she not improvidently bequeathed her throne to a soldier—must have passed many instructive hours with her circle of scientists and philosophers. And the Ungdomens Fredsforbund (Youth Section of the Swedish Peace and Arbitration League) certainly knew what was fitting when it converted that same summer-house (somewhat dilapidated after two centuries) into a wardrobe, planted the wood with tents, and invited a hundred young people of a dozen nationalities to spend a month of their holidays at Hasselby Villastadt this year.

I have heard so much of these International Youth Camps, I welcomed the chance to visit this one while passing through Stockholm last month, and incidentally to learn something about the League from Bror Edberg, the camp's organizer and editor of Nya Vågar (New Ways).

It is, he told me, the oldest of Sweden's peace organisations, having been started more than twenty years ago. But hitherto it has done little beyond issue the monthly *Freden* and sponsor lectures and discussions. During the War, however, it found a second wind. By intensive agitation, it secured the repeal of military training in schools—a measure introduced after the Russian attack on Finland—and this camp was the answer to a felt need for more practical ventures in international collaboration.

The Swedish Government evidently bears the League no ill-will. Indeed, one of the things that most surprised me in Sweden was the widespread sympathy with any and every kind of peace organisation. Even the

activities of pacifists encounter no such conspiracy of silence in the Press as we in Britain are inured to. Visitors prepared to do a month's work for the farmers at Hasselby had their fares paid from the frontier.

Playtime

But it was not all work at the camp. In the evenings and at weekends there was time for bathes in the Lake (really an inlet of the Baltic), visits to the Folkspark and to Stockholm, rambles in the surrounding countryside, sing-songs around the fire at night. A party of French students had even formed a choir, which so impressed one professional singer who came over that he spoke of having them broadcast—though whether anything came of this suggestion I don't know.

All in all, the Svenska Freds-och-Skiltjedomsföreningen seemed to me to be doing a good piece of work. And there I would like to leave the matter, with the usual Gloria about "no distinction of race, colour, class or creed,"

etc., etc.—only honesty forbids.

It seems ungracious to criticise those who, despite the heavy amount of work and responsibility involved in such an undertaking, still found time to welcome a casual English visitor so hospitably, to treat him to substantial open-air meals and answer his interminable questions—especially when three days permit of no more than the most superficial observations.

Nevertheless, I could not but feel that the purpose of this camp had been rather too vaguely conceived, or at any rate advertised. "International understanding," after all, is not promoted simply by packing as many people of different nationalities into as few tents as possible. Indeed, the very reverse may happen—and was happening among some of the people I talked to.

It had been advertised as a "student camp," but the word "student," apparently, has different meanings in different tongues. Thus,



PAY-DAY AT HASSELBY

Bror Edberg distributes pay packets.

(Photo: Stockholms Forstadsblad)

while the Norwegians and Finns were mostly boys and girls of secondary school age, quite content to work and enjoy themselves—and they were doing both, with gusto—the French, Dutch, Egyptians, the Indo-Chinese, who were older, not unnaturally expected at least some of the time to be set aside for "study." Yet, apart from a quantity of literature concerning the United Nations, *Freden*, etc., adorning the walls of the dining-shed, there was little or no reference to wider problems, not even those talks on each other's countries which might have been so profitable.

English were directed

On the other hand, at least some of the English present were there for no better reason than that they had been directed to Hasselby by the Swedish Labour Exchange!

Moreover, while the hankering of the French for *vin ordinaire*, of the American for fireworks, of the Dutch for Holland, may be overlooked except as symptoms, the lack of any common language was really a serious handicap, for the fifty Finns were too young to speak anything but Finnish. I shall not quickly forget the sighs of the solitary Italian as he explained—one eye on a group of laughing Swedish girls—"There is, of course, a language of intonations—but one cannot begin a conversation in that!"

All this came home to me forcibly when I visited another camp not very far away, run by the *Internationella Arbetslag* (Swedish equivalent of the IVSP), which has, of course, vastly more experience of such ventures. Here the numbers had been kept down to twenty, the students were much of an age, and all of them—Swedes, Germans, Austrians, Americans, Finns—either spoke, or were quickly learning to speak, English. Six or seven hours of the day were spent on the land; in the evenings, talks by visiting speakers were regularly arranged. There was no trace of the demoralisation (the word is too strong, but let it pass) which I sensed at Hasselby; a real community seemed to have sprung into being.

Brave experiment

These random reflections seem to me worth making only because I am convinced of the practical and educative value of such experiments as the *Ungdomens Fredsforbund* is bravely tackling, and wish that they could be organised on a far wider scale. It is clear, however, that a wealth of experience has already been gained as to the optimum conditions for their success, and ought to be most thoroughly digested before any new steps are taken. As Queen Christina's successor discovered to his cost, the fruits of the most modest achievement are more valuable in the long run than a more ambitious project whose very ambition defeats its own end.

F. A. LEA

THEIR CONSCRIPTION FIGHT MAY SOON BEGIN

THE New Zealand Peace Union has branches regularly meeting in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, and has individual members in other parts of the country, some of whom meet occasionally as groups.

In each centre regular meetings are held for members and the general public, at which topics related to the objectives of the Peace Union are discussed. Following the death of Mahatma Gandhi, special memorial meetings were held and attracted members of the public as well as Union members.

Although it is difficult to obtain publicity in the newspapers, space for statements from the Union has been obtained on a few occasions during the year, and this has been supplemented by regular advertisements stating the Union's aims and objects and providing comments on matters of topical interest.

Apart from the day to day anti-war and related activities, the Union has been pressing the Government to remove the disabilities still imposed on conscientious objectors. The COs who were unsuccessful during the war in their appeals for exemption from military service (or who did not appeal) are still deprived of their civil rights, including the right to vote or to employment in the Civil Service; while teacher COs who were successful in their appeals were re-

moved from their posts and have not yet been reinstated.

A Parliamentary committee set up to consider which of the many "War Regulations"—under which the disabilities on COs were imposed—should be retained, met a deputation from the Union and the Christian Pacifist Society who jointly put forward a request for the complete removal of the disabilities. The result will not be known until the committee reports to the NZ Parliament in the near future.

A major activity of the Peace Union's members during the past year has been the sending of food and clothing parcels to various European countries—particularly Germany. Although it is recognised that what has been done is a mere drop in the ocean of need, it has been a considerable drain on the limited finances of the Union and on the pockets and energies of those who feel a particular concern with this work.

CONSCRIPTION THREAT

The Government recently took steps to strengthen the armed forces of New Zealand in various directions, including the development of "scientific warfare" and related research. The Government claims this increasing militarisation to be necessary for defence and to fulfil obligations to the British Empire and the United Nations. There is a good deal of pressure from such bodies as the Opposition Party, the Returned Services' Association, and "patriotic" societies, as well as the newspapers, for the reintroduction of compulsory military training in some form. It is known that the Prime Minister and many in the Government support such a measure.

The Peace Union is attempting in various directions to arouse opposi-

tion to the Government measures and to the introduction of compulsory military training and is planning a more definite campaign.

At the recent Labour Party Conference, the Prime Minister, Mr. Fraser, said that compulsory military training would have to be considered by Parliament and the people. It is not clear what this means, or what measures will be taken. A considerable section of the Labour Party and the trade unions are known to be opposed to conscription, but only events will show whether this opposition will be sufficient to prevent the introduction of compulsory service, or whether it will give way before a determined stand by the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues.

THE CPS

The New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society has a membership of approximately 500 and publishes a monthly magazine the "Christian Pacifist" which has over 600 subscribers.

While the membership figure may be considered small when placed beside New Zealand's population of 1,800,000, it includes several prominent people: Prof. John Henderson, of Knox College, Dunedin; Prof. L. H. Jenkins, principal of the Baptist College; Rev. Alan A. Brash, executive officer of the New Zealand Council of Churches; and O. E. Burton, senior history teacher in Wellington Technical College.

Activities of the NZCPS have featured in the columns of Peace News during the past few years. Their latest achievement is the establishment of "Peace Books" an organisation to encourage the distribution of literature for the movement.

NO MORE WAR GROUP

A No More War Movement group, affiliated to the War Resisters International is active in Christchurch and has succeeded in securing a very limited amount of radio discussion of pacifism: no mean achievement in a country which, three years after the end of the war, still severely limits the civil rights of COs.

FREDEN The monthly newspaper of Sweden's Peace Movement

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Articles by leading members of the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Union.

PACIFISM RE-EXAMINED

Christian Pacifism After Two World Wars, by Leyton Richards. Independent Press, 7s. 6d.

THE author says that he has written this book "at the request of a number of friends who feel that the case for Christian Pacifism needs to be re-stated after two world wars."

There are two reasons for this (he continues): one is the changed world-situation, and the other is the new apologetic for war. Much thought and no little print, in the 'tween-war period, were devoted to pacifist exposition; but the emergence of Hitlerism during that period, and the ruthless character of "total war," unsuspected before 1939, have "dated" that exposition and made much of it irrelevant.

In point of fact, between the emergence of Hitlerism and 1939 the "ruthless character" of the coming war, far from being "unsuspected," was prophesied by pacifist and non-pacifist alike; and its horrors were described with a thoroughness which made the reality, when it came, almost like a reprieve.

The situation has changed, it seems to me, in this way: many pacifists in the 1930's tended to minimize the evil of the Nazi régime, whereas today, in sheer anxiety not to be guilty of a like blindness, they tend to dwell unduly on the iniquities of Soviet Russia and to overlook the vast lacunae in the phenomenon known as American civilisation. And what is important, then, now and always, is to realise that the world of sovereignties and nationalisms and ideologies is always evil whatever its guise; and that pacifism, whatever the situation at a given moment, is always the meeting of evil with good, illusion with reality, mass emotion with individual responsibility.

Mr. Richards realises this far better than most of us: one can discount his title and be grateful for the book's substance. With great clarity and humility he sets out four propositions "which together constitute the warrant for Christian pacifism": that loyalty to Christ takes precedence of every other loyalty; that the way of war contradicts the way of Christ; that Christ's way is God's; and that the gospel of Christ is compromised by Christian approval of war. But he is not blind to the virtues which flourish even in the operation of war; and he is sympathetic to the plight of the pacifist who is asked to offer a "practicable alternative" and can find none.

He sees that the attempt to claim Jesus as an exponent of Gandhi's non-violent resistance "fails to carry conviction." He copes with Professor Field and with those who cite Denmark as "a warning to those who allow an invader to enter unchecked," stressing that Denmark was merely an unarmed and not a pacifist country and that the argument in any case falls through if applied to resister countries like Poland and Holland.

But it is wrong to point to parts of a book which is a unity and is uniformly good. Its chapters on conscription (the "mechanical sameness" of the conscriptionist which makes a mockery of democracy, and the humbug about "self-discipline" which really means "sergeant-major discipline") ought to give heart to those young people who are called upon to testify their pacifism after two world wars.

J. P. HOGAN.

Human Ecology, by Thomas Robertson. MacLellan, 21s.

MR. ROBERTSON defines "ecology" as the science of adjustment between organism and environment as concerning human beings. It is a word borrowed from biology and applied to—well, it is very difficult to say what it is applied to, for Mr. Robertson's field stops little short of the universe, and his book is at once philosophy, sociology, history, politics and finance. Finance looms especially large. Mr. Robertson is evidently a votary of Social Credit, and like most others of that persuasion, he regards the distribution of money as the root problem not only of economics, but of human life in all its vast complexity.

It would be easy, but it would not be fair to dismiss Mr. Robertson as a crank. He sticks his neck out in the most exasperating way, he alter-



HERETICS AT ODDS

The Challenge of Schweitzer, by J. Middleton Murry. Jason Press, 6s.

THIS is a confused and badly-written book about the impact made on Mr. Murry by Albert Schweitzer, and it represents Mr. Murry's attempts to shake him off and put him in his place.

With Schweitzer's fundamental agnosticism Mr. Murry seems to be in agreement. "I am a man of little faith," he confesses on page 115. And on page 106:

If I am capable of faith—as to some small degree I am—it is not of the faith that must identify the God whose will I consciously obey, with the Creator of the illimitable universe. It seems to me that I am, in the last resort, driven to hold that the orthodox Christian faith is a wonderful projection of human aspirations on to an unknowable cosmos. In that sense I am in agreement with Schweitzer. But, unlike him, I cannot allow that human history belongs to this unknowable cosmos. On the contrary, I hold that human history is self-evidently meaningful, and that the ethical aspiration of man gives meaning, and alone gives meaning to it.

Again in a footnote to page 86, he writes:

I make a profound distinction, which is entirely heretical, between the experience of God as the loving Father of man, and God as creator of the universe. I use the phrase, the Fatherhood of God, in the former sense.

The truth is, that Mr. Murry labours under the disability of an almost total lack of metaphysical insight—which is unfortunate when, as so often, he elects to deal with questions which verge upon the metaphysical. He cannot follow Schweitzer's radical scepticism to its heroic conclusions, and his half-hearted attempt to impose a meaning upon a world process which is conceived as fundamentally meaningless leads him to the untenable position of inventing a secondary "loving Father" deity (subject to an unknowable cosmic demiurge), and denying the Christ in order to embrace a self-invented liberal-minded Jesus.

But what is his main purpose in writing about Schweitzer? It is precisely to defend the "meaning" which he imposes upon a "meaningless" world-process. That "meaning" turns out to be an ethico-political one. He must defend the ethical concept of society from Schweitzer's devastating declaration that civilisation is non-ethical.

The reason for all his argumentation then appears, and up rises a lugubrious chimera called "the Free Society," which Mr. Murry has the astonishing effrontery to compare to the Kingdom of God:

The effort to realise the Kingdom of God has, in our own day, entered into a new dimension by the creation of the free society: an act of faith, if ever there was one.

The continuing life of this hypothetical abstraction

is not, as Schweitzer argues, the exigence of a non-ethical "expedience" or "necessity"; it is itself the supreme ethical demand. For the free society is constituted by, and is in turn the matrix of, ethical personality.

The meaning of history, Mr. Murry affirms, lies in the struggle for this abortion. And how like the Kingdom of Caesar it all sounds:

To defend and sustain that society, when man is so best as to be a member of it, by thought and word and deed; to comprehend its significance and instruct others in it; to understand and fulfil the new duties it imposes; to be loyal to it in heart

and mind and soul; to be prepared to lay down one's life for it, happily—this is the supreme ethical duty of man.

Like other idols, this one is not averse to human sacrifices. And what happens to those who refuse to wear the Mark of the Beast?

One suspects the "free society" will turn out to be none other than our old acquaintance, the total State. The pedigree of the total State can be traced back through socialistic theory to the inversion, or exteriorisation, of the Christian ethic in the secular, materialist, political mind: it is surprising to see a writer at this late date engaged seriously upon recapitulating the process in himself.

Mr. Murry rightly perceives that love is at the heart of Christianity, but because he does not understand the meaning of love he debases it into an impersonal relation between the citizens bound together in the institutions of a "necessary" State.

The free society . . . feels its way . . . towards a future in which justice is ever more closely permeated by love. And in the free society truth and justice and love are revealed as interdependent, as aspects of a single whole.

It is a crucial event in the pilgrimage of man that he should have achieved a society in which, by the establishment of human freedom in the form of political equality, man is endowed with the responsibility of freedom: for this is a leap of social man in society which can be justified only as a venture of love, and maintained only by love.

Being a venture of love, reckoning on man's latent capacities for love, the free society will appear in its glory as the most momentous advance ever made by man towards the realisation of the Kingdom of God.

Like so many words, "freedom" and "love" have changed their meaning in Mr. Murry's mouth. He really means "slavery" and "unlove."

I have disentangled this sequence of thought, after two readings of this book, from a welter of emotional verbiage. As so often, Mr. Murry's writing suffers as the result of his narcissistic inability to demonstrate objectively a clear pattern of thought: he will not stay behind the camera, and insists on running frequently on to the set, striking tortured attitudes and sparring with Schweitzer, before running back to his operator's seat and getting down to business.

Mr. Murry once wrote a very good book: it was called *Between Two Worlds*, and it was an autobiography. There he could be both cameraman and star, and the dual role suited him to perfection. But here, Schweitzer is billed in the star part, and it is disappointing to have so little Schweitzer and so much Murry in a book which is not ostensibly autobiographical. I mention this because I am sure that this self-involvement goes far towards explaining the embarrassing qualities in Mr. Murry's rather visceral style; its possible bearing on the quality of his thought is a theme which might bear investigation.

D. S. SAVAGE

Before the mind can function, it is under the necessity of using symbols or labels, since it cannot deal with reality otherwise. Symbols are of many kinds, such as mathematical, musical and so on, but the chief mind symbols are words.

Thus it happens that men create a huge structure of thought which, though rooted in reality, has been built into a veritable skyscraper of illusions.

This is an interesting and important point, well reasoned and tersely presented. Unfortunately, Mr. Robertson gives so much attention to the "myth of money" that he has no time to explore those other myths which he assures us (perhaps rightly) are "at the basis of much strife and all recent wars."

One puts this book aside with a feeling of exhaustion. Yet one is moved by it, and galvanised into the sort of cerebration that is always good for one, if not always quite agreeable. Altogether a stimulating, irritating book.

PAMELA FIELDING.

CONSCIENCE AND REASON

The Seed of the Church, by F. A. Lea. Sheppard Press, 10s. 6d.

MR. LEA has packed a great deal of thought and experience into this excellent book of 170 pages. Substantially, it is an original interpretation of the history of the Christian religion, undertaken with the aim of finding a religion, or philosophy, which the author's heart and mind can approve. At the end he reaches a kind of reconciliation between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, which is best expressed in his own words:

Nothing in faith or morals is true to me that does not compel my assent through the reconciliation of reason and conscience. But over and over again, I have found that when reason and conscience were reconciled, my conviction has been antedated, my truth proclaimed by the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, in future, when experience sets me a problem, I will consult the oracles of the Church, knowing its thought to be the most disinterested, exhaustive and profound. I will consult its oracles and obey them—until such time as they do violence to my reason or conscience. But what I will never do, or pledge myself to do, is affirm that thing to be true which my own reason and conscience have not affirmed. This is the "positive" with which Protestantism has entrusted me, and I will surrender it to no authority on earth.

One's sympathy goes out to such an affirmation. It is as good a one as can be made within the context of the Christian tradition. But is not the context itself being shattered today?

Mr. Lea is aware of the situation. In his first chapter he faces the full force of the Marxian and Freudian reductive criticism of religion, and finds, with Koestler, that the ethical impulse abides. If indeed it does, then in the fullness of time we may expect that a religion—probably a development of Christianity—will be built upon it. Schweitzer, whom Mr. Lea regards as "the greatest ethical personality of our age," might be regarded as the prophet of this new religion.

But the question is: "Does the ethical impulse abide?" It is one thing for it to endure the intellectual criticism of Marx and Freud; it is another for it to endure the pressures of totalitarianism and the concentration camp. A new factor in the human calculus has been introduced by the apparent efficacy of the new technique of torture in disintegrating the ethical personality of man. Can one any longer count on the irreducibility of the ethical impulse in man? Has it not ceased to be a datum and become something that has to be affirmed, as we now say, existentially: not asserted by argument but created by deed?

It does not appear to me that Mr. Lea has fully faced this new and extraordinary dilemma. Or, if he has done so, the process of his thinking is concealed. Towards the end of his book he sets out the marks of an incipient moral authority—the new "Church":

Not only will it strive to abolish the conditions of hunger and fatigue, the criminality of want and war; it will strive incessantly to bring into being such conditions as positively favour the salvation of the individual—such conditions in a word as foster the development of the self-forgetful imagination. In doing so it will have to compromise at every step, to sacrifice a lesser good for the sake of a greater . . . But never, never must it surrender to the notion that any means, however bad, is justified by the end: for there are means which violate the spirit of love, and to violate the spirit of love is to violate that which can finally progenerate love.

It is hard to disagree in the abstract. But, as Koestler says, "Only the detail counts." And what does the detail of this mean in contemporary conditions? What is the existential choice of the new "Church" in face of totalitarianism—in Berlin, for example, today? Koestler's Peter Slavek (whom Mr. Lea regards as a symbolic contemporary hero) ends by joining the resistance to Nazism. Schweitzer, Mr. Lea's other hero, is by nature of his life-commitment absolved from the problem and the choice.

It seems to me that Mr. Lea, at the critical point, evades the spiritual dilemma. Possibly he has, quite deliberately, postponed the struggle with it. But so long as it is postponed the real content of his idea of God will be vague. And on that depends what is meant by "the violation of the spirit of love." If the ethical impulse is annihilable, love must go to any length—*per fas et nefas*—to defend it from annihilation.

J. MIDDLETON MURRY.

"BLACK-SPOT" MOTHERS ARE WAR OFFICE WORRY

MOTHERS in Wales and London who have brought up their children to respect the lives and property of other people are creating "black spots" on the Army recruiting map of Britain.

According to the Sunday Express (Aug. 29, 1948) boys are declining to join the Army and Air Force Cadets and instead are entering the Boy Scout movement in increasing numbers.

Brigadier W. Clark, chief commissioner of the Boy Scout movement, suggesting some reasons for this trend, said: "A boy comes to us because he wants to belong to a brotherhood. Old Scoutmasters will tell you that is true."

"The cadet has everything done for him. His uniform is provided for him. His food in camp and the camp itself are all found. The scout has to pay for everything, and has to depend on his own efforts with the help of his comrades."

"Patriotism is all that makes boys join the cadets. Our appeal is wider. Our programme of activities more varied, with the minimum of drill."

A senior officer at Army Cadet headquarters said: "Ever since the war we have been losing ground. Black spots are Wales, except for Glamorganshire and the London area. Parental influence is largely to blame in Wales, where mothers have a pacifist outlook."

WHY THE REAPERS ARE FEW

The wheat crop of North China is the best in many years, yet there are not enough hands to harvest it. This paradox in a country that is over-populated is due, says the Gospel Messenger, to the conscription of able-bodied men for the armies and the flight of many others to escape induction. Because of the lack of man power North China, which needs the grain, may not be able to save the crop.

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FREE PUBLICITY

WHILE the Washington spy hunt continues, one aspect of wartime handling of information by government functionaries goes unexplored. The generally intelligent wartime censorship of personal correspondence crossing the Mexican border into the U.S. nevertheless made it possible for a large number of Washington officials to know the contents of personal mail dealing with purely private matters. Contents of many private letters were copied and distributed in a mimeographed and widely-circulated "dossier."

In one case the author of a forthcoming book on archaeology wrote to his U.S. publisher saying that he was coming up for a pre-publication conference. Some of the author's friends at Washington wrote him and expressed the hope that, when he made the trip, they would have a chance to see him.

On another occasion, a writer was introduced to a top official in the office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Said the official inadvertently: "Oh, I know who you are—I've enjoyed reading a good many of your letters."—W.P.

WORLD NEWS IN BRIEF

WORLD Peace Day (Aug. 6) was observed in Sydney, Australia, by the holding of a lunch-hour service in Wesley Chapel. Those present at the international peace demonstration in Hiroshima on the same day witnessed a typical example of international militarism. Lt.-Gen. Robertson sent a squadron of British fighter planes swooping low over the spot where the ceremony was taking place, drowning the voice of a Hiroshima poet reciting an ode to the stricken city.

Pacifists in the Argentine are collecting money to pay the cost of a full page advertisement in one of their leading daily newspapers. They have already had pacifist slogans projected on cinema screens—free.

The Government of India announced on July 17 that discrimination against women in the matter of employment in public services, could no longer be maintained, and that it had therefore been decided that women in future be eligible for appointment for any public service, including the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service, on the same basis of merit and suitability as men. —The Statesman, Calcutta.

Norway's supreme court has ruled, in a case concerning an officer tried for not ordering his troops to fight the Germans "to the last man," that no one can be compelled to fight. Pacifist organisations are seeking to have the ruling interpreted as legal support for conscientious objectors. —W.P.

The Association for Bavarian Youth Settlements has prepared a large plan for the building of a "Peace Village" near Munich University. A settlement of one-storey houses is to be created as future dwelling places for young workmen and students. The first house should be finished for use in the autumn. This Munich Peace Village is to be considered a sister settlement of the Peace Village in Nuremberg, previously reported in Peace News.

Pacifist Profiles

"EVIDENTLY the problem of the Christian attitude to war seemed not to exist in those happy days," writes Christopher Vibe of the time when he, the son of a Pastor at Fredrikstad, was photographed in soldier's uniform. He was born in 1892, and remembers vividly the war-scare which accompanied the divorce between Norway and Sweden in 1905. It was not, however, until he entered the Academy of Technology at Trondhjem six years later, and joined in the debates of the students' club, that he began to consider seriously his own attitude towards military service.

1915

By the outbreak of World War I he was a convinced Christian pacifist; and at a big summer camp in Hardanger, arranged by the Students Christian Association in 1915, was able to deliver a lecture on Christian pacifism that severely shocked many of the clergymen and professors present. The same year he was to give proof of his sincerity by refusing military service.

He was summoned before the captain of an engineering regiment to explain his stand:

"To begin with he behaved rather brusquely and complained of the lack of Prussian discipline in the Norwegian army: as though the effeminate regulations prevented him from following his inclination to give me a sound drubbing. Later on his manner grew more polite, and ultimately he let me go with a promise that within a reasonable time I should be summoned before the court-martial. The captain is dead now, but his son happens to be my subordinate engineer in the Broadcasting Corporation. We are working together in a very friendly and peaceful manner."

As it happened, although no provision was made for alternative service before 1923, the court-martial was postponed and postponed until Christopher Vibe was considered over-age for the army, and his name was struck off the military register!

In 1930, he took up work as an engineer with the Broadcasting Society of Oslo, later merged in the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation. Meanwhile, he had become acquainted with other pacifists; with Ole Olden, Chairman of the Stavanger Fredsforening, which he joined; with Arnold Kalisch and Siegmund Schultze in Berlin—"One evening at a private meeting at Mr. Schultze's house, I remember how the audience made merry over a certain political propagandist, Adolf Hitler"—and, on a visit to England in 1935, with Runham Brown.

1937

In 1937, the Norwegian Section of the WRI was formed by Lilly Heber and Olaf Kullmann, and Christopher Vibe became an active member. When the Section was dissolved by the Quisling administration—and Olaf Kullmann, who refused to discontinue his pacifist preaching, was executed—however, he himself remained on the staff of the Broadcasting Corporation, experiencing, as he says, "no conflict of conscience except a rather unimportant one: the daily counter-signing of letters furnished with the

No VI



CHRISTOPHER VIBE

finishing phrase, 'Heil og sael.'"

When the WRI Section was reconstituted in 1946, only 25 per cent. of the old members responded to the call. Nevertheless, a successful summer camp was arranged last year, in co-operation with the Danish Section, and debates have been held with members of the Military Academy. Christopher Vibe is now Chairman. "As to my views on the present situation," he writes, "I feel mostly concerned with the lack of new light of the economic causes of war, and the sinister clinging of the Church to pagan views on the means of defeating war, and its obvious treachery to Christ and his gospel."

LEYTON RICHARDS

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F. A. LEA, "Seed of the Church," will be published on Aug. 26 (Shepherd Press, 10s. 6d.); order now from Housmans, 124 Shaftesbury Ave., W.1, or any other bookseller.

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MEETINGS

NORTH AND EAST LONDON REGION.—All PPU members are asked to attend a meeting to coordinate Autumn and Winter activities at Stoke Newington Friends Meeting House, Yorkley Road, Church Street, N.16, on Tuesday, Sept. 14, at 8 p.m.

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France must buy Marshall arms

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

be regarded as the chief obstacle to a revival of German industry, now that the French themselves have championed the one scheme that can reconcile revival with security: the scheme for a European political federation. It is high time the British Government began to take Western Union seriously.

Limited union

THE New Statesman (Sept. 4) suggests that a United Europe should consist, in the first place, only of the Brussels Pact Powers and Western Germany. This is sensible enough, since there is no evidence that Switzerland, Sweden or Portugal (which is exchanging its ties with Britain for closer ones with Franco Spain) want to come in; whilst Spain itself, Greece and Turkey can hardly be considered assets from the democratic point of view. But Italy, Eire, and possibly Norway and Denmark, might very soon be attracted.

What is not so sensible is the New Statesman's further suggestion that such a Union might "be the nucleus of an increasingly independent federation capable of preventing the clash between America and Russia": since it is quite impossible for any Western Union to be independent of America, or in fact anything less than an American protectorate, if it is condemned to the policy of armed neutrality which The New Statesman continues to favour.

Security or sufficiency

THE OEEC report quoted above goes on to observe, with that felicity of phrase characteristic of Committee pronouncements:

The population of the Bi-Zone in 1951 will be from 8 to 10 millions larger than pre-war, and although no imports will be needed as in pre-war for rearmament purposes, this area will have to increase its

international trade above its pre-war volume, even if it is to meet only its minimum food and raw material requirements. It will only be able to achieve a balance of payments by the end of 1951 on the basis of an export programme greater than pre-war, and of an import programme which, although also greater than pre-war, will have to be on the basis of austerity.

What is true of Germany, is, in principle, true of all her Western neighbours. Even were they spared the need of imports for rearmament purposes, they would still only just be able to meet their minimum food requirements. Faced with this need, they will be dependent for ever and ever on American gifts and loans. Military expenditure has not yet been taken into account in ERP planning; yet all the recovery projects are threatened by the demands of rearmament and the maintenance of a strong anti-Communist front.

According to Tuesday's Daily Express, Mr. Harriman is actually demanding that France divert one third of her Marshall aid dollars to the purchase of arms from Britain: and France stands in greater immediate need of dollars for constructive purposes than almost any country in Europe.

This is not the only reason why an armed Western Union cannot be independent of America. An armed Western Union only makes sense as a *glacis* for America—or Russia. Reliable reports have it that this difficulty keeps cropping up in the counsels of the Military Committee of the Brussels Pact Powers. The American, and to some extent the British, military authorities tend to think in terms of advance-bases in Europe for an attack on the USSR: whereas the French and Benelux authorities keep on returning to the tiresome question of defending their own territories against aggression.

In the clouds

PROBABLY neither realise that on any declaration of war against Russia, France would be plunged into civil war and Britain be paralysed by strikes. What happens in the coal-fields must seem very remote to the British and American pilots drumming over London as I write. Yet the paradox of M. Schuman's position should serve as a forceful reminder. He is there to preserve a "strong anti-Communist front" in France, which he can only do by forestalling the Communist demand for higher wages; yet he can only grant higher wages by cutting military expenditure, in other words, by presenting a weak anti-Communist front abroad. Perhaps that is why the French Communist Party is soft-peddling its support for Viet Nam.

The militarists are quite right when they say that Russia will not be tempted to invade a Europe that is massively armed: Russia can just sit back and let the native Communists take control. Only a disarmed Europe can provide the workers with a standard of living that reduces the attraction of Communism: and whether Russia would be tempted to invade a disarmed Europe is doubtful. If she were, such a Europe would still be in a better position to resist the evils of a totalitarian regime than a Europe first atomised in the futile attempt to resist by military might.

("Big Raid Bombers Reach London" was Monday's headline in the Daily Express, summarising the results of the Anglo-American air manoeuvres. The week-end apparently saw the destruction of many other towns also, supposing the bombers to have been carrying atom-bombs: the use of bombers, however, when guided missiles would be so much more effective, suggests that the high brass is, as usual, preparing for the war before.)

The Wallace line

I HAVE no sympathy whatever with the foreign politics of Mr. Henry Wallace, based as they are on a sentimentalisation of Communism.

FRIENDSHIP, NOT ARMAMENTS WILL BRING REAL SECURITY

Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale at Trafalgar Square Rally

A CROWD estimated to number 6,000 heard Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, a PPU member, call on the women in the audience at the Trafalgar Square "Save the Peace Rally" to make known to the Government their desire for peace and opposition to military conscription. "Real security," she declared, "consists in world friendship and not in armaments."

The only defence

THE following letter was sent to the Press by the Peace Pledge Union on September 3, 1948.

Is it not a tragically ironic comment on the results of two world wars fought to rid the world of tyranny to read in the National Press today that mock air-raids are to take place over Britain during the next few days in order to test our equipment and organisation in raids varying in intensity from saturation to single aircraft... and "to exercise as many people who are concerned with the defence of Britain for as much of the time as possible"?

It would appear that by attempting to defeat tyranny by force we have firmly established the tyranny of war, and the dreadful implication in the practice "Battle of Britain" is that our country is to be used as the base and the battleground of World War III.

We, the undersigned, believe it to be immoral to deceive the people into believing that there is any defence against "saturation bombing" nor any safety for themselves and their children and future generations in the use of the atom bomb. The only defence against the atom bomb is to abolish it; the only defence against war is to renounce it.

SYBIL MORRISON,

Chairman, National Executive;

MAUD ROWNTREE,

Hon. Treasurer;

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

But he deserves a bouquet, I think, for his recent activities in Carolina and Alabama. It is no fun to be pelted with eggs and tomatoes, as many a pacifists speaker could have testified in the days before rationing; and hardly less courage is required of a prominent public figure—whose courage will not go unnoticed—than of an obscure private person to uphold the Rights of Man in the teeth of the Southern Herrenvolk.

It is to be hoped that, by thus exposing the weakest link in America's armour of democratic righteousness, Mr. Wallace may provoke a more realistic statesman to deprive him of his support in the only effective way—by enforcing some much-needed reforms.

Benes and Zhdanov

THE death of Dr. Benes, coming so soon after that of Jan Masaryk, completes the impression of an epoch being ended in the history of Czechoslovakia. More than any man he symbolised the aspirations which, we must believe, still unite a multitude of Czechs; it was the defeat of these aspirations that accelerated his decline.

I remember an address he broadcast in the early days of the War. It impressed me as by far the most reasonable and generous of all the statements of Allied leaders at the time. The tragedy is that war cannot be fought in a spirit of reasonableness and generosity. Dr. Benes, I think, made a fatal mistake when he forebore to rebuke the blind vengefulness which expressed itself in the deportation of the Sudetan Germans in 1945. The rebuke might have cost him his Presidency, though that is by no means certain, considering the esteem in which he was held; the failure to rebuke cost him his Presidency in circumstances less honourable. For ruthlessness, unrestrained, makes the continuance of democracy impossible; it was their knowledge that the Germans would never forget an act of such flagrant injustice that threw the Czechs finally into the arms of Russia: and Dr. Benes was not the man to remain the puppet-President of a totalitarian State.

If the death of Edouard Benes closes an epoch in Czechoslovak history, however, that of Andrei Zhdanov, unfortunately, cannot be said to close one in Russian history. Notwithstanding all the hints thrown out by the British Press, there is no more reason for supposing him to have been liquidated than Maxim Gorky, or any of the other outstanding figures whom the defendants at the Moscow Trials confessed to having murdered. Whatever Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Vyshinsky may insinuate we persist in our belief that even in Soviet Russia people are known to die from natural causes.

Over three thousand copies of a new leaflet briefly outlining the nature of the Peace Pledge Union and its relation to the War Resisters' International were distributed at the Rally last Sunday.

London Area members sold 280 copies of Peace News.

On the same day PPU speakers addressed meetings in Hyde Park and Finsbury Park, where Kenneth Truman declared that the war-time Government request to the Press to withhold any mention of the work of the PPU still appeared to be operating.

The new PPU leaflet, particularly suitable for distribution at public meetings, can be obtained free by groups willing to distribute them. Orders should be sent to Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Bishop's Tribute to Pacifist Community

HARVEST Festival was celebrated at Frating Hall Community last week-end in what has now become the traditional manner: with supper in the big barn, preceded by a short service, in the course of which the children of the community presented offerings of corn and vegetables, and followed by games, dancing and music, including this year some spirited folk-songs by a party of Dutch boys and girls who have been working on the farm.

The Bishop of Colchester, who attended Saturday evening, paid a warm tribute to the work of the community. At the Lambeth Conference, he said, they had presented a Christian community against Communism but had found themselves hard put to give any instance of a community with a consciously Christian inspiration. In fact, he would know where to point.

Sunday morning's service in the barn was conducted by the Rev. Hugh Davison, Doncaster, who also introduced a discussion in the evening. In the afternoon a concert was given by M. Marcel Oppenheimer (violin) and Miss Betty Goodall (soprano). The harvest is Essex, this year has given good cause for thanksgiving, and local farmers joined in the celebrations.

ANGLICAN, QUAKER AND CATHOLIC WILL SPEAK AT BIRMINGHAM

A Peace Conference is to be held in Birmingham on Saturday, September 18 entitled "Stop the Drift to War." It is being organised by the Birmingham Trades Council and will be addressed by Leah Manning M.P., Bishop Barnes, Archbishop Masterton and Herbert Wood.

The Birmingham PPU Council are co-operating and on the following week holding open-air meetings in the Bull Ring.

NORTH AND EAST LONDON PACIFISTS PLAN JOINT CAMPAIGN

PACIFISTS living in North and East London are to meet next Tuesday at Stoke Newington Friends Meeting House to plan an intensive drive for new members and to co-ordinate their activities during the London Peace Week being organised by the Peace Pledge Union.

Consultations by appointment

TOM KEELL WOLFE

Registered Naturopath

Graduate of Edinburgh School of Natural Therapeutics
21 Promenade, Cheltenham, Glos.

WE SHALL NEVER MAKE PEACE

with those who perform experiments on helpless animals. The law permitting these can be repealed, and you can help to do it. We need your help.

Details and literature:—

British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (B.U.A.V.)

47 WHITEHALL, LONDON, S.W.1

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TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Sept. 10, 1938

The death is reported of Bart de Lagt, of Holland, one of the greatest exponents of anti-militarism, who was for many years a member of the Council of the War Resisters' International.

He became widely known as one of the greatest clergymen of his day in Holland, stating his pacifist principles from the pulpit, undaunted by the general feverish atmosphere of fear and patriotism which induced so many of his socialist friends to reverse their attitude in regard to internationalism and anti-militarism.

He was imprisoned several times and was banned from his home town of Nuenen as this was situated near the frontier and was under the direct command of military authorities.

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